Message Text

SECRET

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ERDA-05 ACDA-07 OMB-01 /071 W

-----077414 241833Z /47

R 241500Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5494
SECDEF WASHDC
CNO WASHDC
USMISSION NATO
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON
FUFLSKA/COMFAIRMED NAPLES
COMSUBGRUEIGHT NAPLES
INFO COMNAVSEASYSCOM WASHDC
COMSIXTH FLT GAETA

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E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: MARR, IT SUBJECT: AMENDING PROTOCOL TO BILATERAL INFRSTRUCTURE AGREE-MENT:

1. AS DEPARTMENT AWARE, MISSION HAS BEEN PRESSING MFA OVER LAST COUPLE OF YEARS TO EXTEND AGREEMENT WHICH ESTABLISHED HOMEPORT FOR SUBMARINE TENDER AT LA MADDALENA TO COVER ACTIVITIES ASHORE. THOSE SUPPORT ACTIVITIES (NAVAL SUPPORT OFFICE, PERSONNEL) HAVE NOT YET BEEN SANCTIONED BY AGREEMENT. INDEED THEY ARE SPECIFICALLY EXCLUDED BY THE PROTOCOL THAT ESTABLISHED THE HOMEPORTING OF THE TENDER.

2. IN RECENT MONTHS THE MOD AND MFA HAVE PRODUCED TWO SUGGESTED PROTOCOLS, ONE COVERING LA MADDALENA, THE OTHER REGARDING THE INSTALLATIONOF A COLD IRON SECRET

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PLANT AT NAPLES (SEPTEL) THE LANGUAGE OF WHICH (WITH-OUT EMBASSY INPUT) HAS BEEN CLEARED WITHIN THE GOI INCLUDING AT THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. BOTH PROTOCOLS PROVIDE MUCH OF WHAT WE WANT, BUT BOTH ALSO CONTAIN RESTRICTIONS THAT AT FIRST GLANCE SEEM DIFFICULT TO ACCEPT. THE PROPOSED PROTOCOL FOR LA MADDALENA READS AS FOLLOWS. BEGIN TEXT.

DRAFT PROTOCOL

ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL MODIFYING THE LIST

OF INSTALLATIONS AGREED UPON IN PRINCIPLE

IN CONNECTION WITH THE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND

ITALY ON BILATERAL INFRASTRUCTURE.

SIGNED ON OCTOBER 20, 1954

IN ACCORDANCE WITH NOTA VERBALE NO. OF

OF THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF

AMERICA AND NOTA VERBALE NO. OF THE

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS DATED , THE

LIST OF INSTALLATIONS AGREED UPON IN CONNECTION WITH THE

BILATERAL INFRASTRUCTURE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERN-

MENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE ITALIAN

GOVERNMENT, SIGNED ON OCTOBER 20, 1954, AS AMENDED, IS

HEREBY AMENDED BY THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONS: (THREE

COLUMNS).

GENERAL AREA APPROXIMATE NO. OF U.S. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

PERSONNEL (NOT INCL. DESCRIPTION

FAMILIES)

LA MADDALENA, 1060 OF WHOM 150 OF THE SUBMARINE SUPPORT

SARDINIA LOGISTICAL SERVICES CAN SHIP AND ATTACK SUBMARINES

BE BASED ASHORE. (NOT TO BE MOORED TO

THE SHORE) IN PORT FOR

MAINTENANCE, AS WLL AS

SECRET

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INSTALLATIONS FOR THE LOGISTICAL SUPPORT OF THE FLEET AND ONTHER ELEMENTS OF LOGISTICAL SUPPORT.

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN EXECUTED IN TWO ORIGINALS, EACH ONE IN BOTH ENGLISH AND ITALIAN, WHICH ARE EQUALLY AUTHENTIC.

DONE IN ROME THIS DAY OF , 1972.

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ITALIAN REPUBLIC

END TEXT.

3. THE ITALIAN ORIGINALOF THE OPERATIVE SECTION OF THE PROTOCOL READS AS FOLLOW: BEGIN TEXT.

ZONA NUMERO APPROSSIMATIVO INDICAZIONI DI PERSONALE STATUNI- GENERICHE TENSE LA MADDALENA (NON COMPRESE LE FAMIGLIE) NAVE APPOGGIO SOM-(SARDEGNA) 1060 (DI CUI CIRCA 150 DEI MERGIBILI E SOMMER-

SERVIZI LOGISTICI CON GIBILI DI ATTACCO POSSIBILITA' DI BASE A (NON ORMEGGIATI A

TERRA) IN SOSTA PER

MANUTENZIONE, NONCHE' INSTALLAZIONI PER DELLA FLOTTA ED ALTRI ELEMENTI DI SOSTEGNO LOGISTICO

END TEXT.

4. THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAS SUGGESTED THAT SECRET

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THE EMBASSY SUBMIT THE PROTOCOL IN THE USUAL MANNER UNDER COVER OF A NOTA VERBALE AND WITH A DRAFT SUGGESTED MINISTRY RESPONSE. AS THE PROTOCOL LANGUAGE HAS ALREADY BEEN APPROVED AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE GOI IT SHOULD BE QUICKLY SIGNED.

5. WE HAVE BEEN URGING THE GOI TO ACCEPT AN ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL ON LA MADDALENA IN ORDER TO REGULARIZE OUR SHORE ACTIVITIES ON THE ISLAND. THE PROTOCOL ACHIEVES THIS OBJECTIVE. HOWEVER, THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE (PRO-HIBITING MOORING TO SHORE) PRECLUDES VISITS OF SSN'S WHEN THE TENDER IS NOT PRESENT AND IS CLEARLY DESIGNED (AS CONFIRMED BY OUR INTERLOCUTORS AT BOTH THE MFA AND MOD) TO PREVENT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN "OPERATIONSAL" BASE FOR SSN'S AT LA MADDALENA. THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN A FACILITY TO CARRY OUT REPAIRS AND AN OPERATIONAL BASE IS IMPORTANT TO THE GOLOUR MFA AND MOD CONTACTS (CHARGED BY HIGHEST AUTHORITIES TO PORDUCE AGREEMENT ON THESE TERMS) HAVE BEEN SURPRISED BY THE EMBASSY'S RESERVATIONS WITH THAT CLAUSE. THEIR POSITION (GENERALLY WELL TAKEN) IS THAT, AS PROPOSED, THE PROTOCOL GIVES THE USN MUCH MORE THAN IT NOW HAS AND REFLECTS THE WISH OF THE GOI TO BE AS RESPONSIVE AS POSSIBLE TO OUR AND NATO REQUIREMENTS IN ITALY. THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH OUR ACTIVITIES AT LA MADDALENA ARE SUCH, AS WE HAVE BEEN

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R 241500Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5495
SECDEF WASHDC
CNO WASHDC
USMISSION NATO
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON
COMFAIRMED NAPLES
INFO COMSUBGRUEIGHT NAPLES
COMNAVSEASYSCOM WASHDC
COMSIXTH FLT GAETA

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REPEATEDLY REMINDED BY ALL LEVELS OF THE GOI, THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE GOI TO GO BEYOND THE LANGUAGE PROPOSED. ANY ALTERATION, HOWEVER MINOR, TO THAT LANGUAGE, WE HAVE BEEN TOLD, WOULD REQUIRE RESUBMITTING THE PROTOCOL TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WITH THE RISK THAT IN THE PRESENT AMBIGUIOUS POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE, RECONSIDERATION WOULD RESULT IN WITHDRAWING THE SIGNIFI-CANT CONCESSIONS NOW BEING OFFERED, OUR MOD CONTACTS. WHO ARE UNQUESTIONABLY FAVORABLY INCLINED, URGE THAT UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES WE ACCEPT THE LANGUAGE AS PROPOSED. THEY POINT OUT THAT "OPERATIONAL" VISITS OF SSN'S TO LA MADDALENA REMAIN POSSIBLE IF THE BOATS ARE MOORED TO BUOYS. (IN FACT STANDARD RULES FOR NPW VISITS NOW BEING WORKED OUT WITH THE MOD REQUIRES SSN'S TO TIE UP TO TENDER.) IF THE ISSUE OF MOORING SSN'S TO THE PIER IN THE ABSENCE OF THE TENDER IMPORTANT TO THE USN, OUR MOD CONTACTS SUGGEST THAT, HVAING ACCEPTED THE PROTOCOL SECRET

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AS PROPOSED, WE THEN SEEK A FURTHER SEPARATE AMENDMENT, THE FATE OF WHICH WOULD NOT JEOPARDIZE THE SUBSTANTIAL STEP FORWARD THIS LANGUAGE REPRESENTS.

6. EMBASSY SUGGESTED INSERTION OF INTERPRETATIVE LANGUAGE EITHER IN DRAFT PROTOCOL OR IN COVERING NOTA VERBALE THAT WOULD OFFER SOME FLEXIBILITY IN PERMITTING SSN'S TO TIE UP AT PIER IN "EXCEPTIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES"

WHEN TENDER ABSENT. OUR CONTACTS INSISTED HOWEVER THAT ANY ALTERATION OF TEXT OR AMENDMENT THERETO WOULD REQUIRE REFERRAL TO COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

7. IN THE OPINION OF THIS EMBASSY, THE ITALIAN OFFER IN THE PRESENT POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT IS GENEROUS. ITS RESERVATION ABUT THE USE OF THE LA MADDALENA FACILITY FOR OPERATIONAL SSN VISITS IS NOT CAPRICIOUS. IT IS BASED ON THE NEED AS PERCEIVED BY THE GOI TO AVOID ANY CONTENTION OVER THE USE OF LA MADDALENA BY NUCLEAR POWERED VESSELS. IT IS ONE THING IN THE ITALIIAN VIEW TO REGULARIZE WHAT ALREADY EXISTS ASHORE AT LA MADDALENA AND HAS BEEN ACCEPTED BY THE LOCAL COMMUNITY AND QUITE ANOTHER TO EXACERBATE THE SENSITIVITY TO THE VISIBILITY OF THAT PRESENCE BY PERMITTING VISITS THAT CANNOT BE JUSTIFIED AS RELATED DIRECTLY TO THE FUNCTION OF THE TENDER.

8. COMMENT: THE ATTITUDE OF THE GOI WITH REGARD TO LA MADDALENA IS ALREADY WELL KNOWN. THE GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZES ITS IMPORTANCE TO MAINATAINING OUR (AND/NATO'S POSTURE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN. IT IS WILLING TO TAKE A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF ITS ADVERSARIES' CRITICISM IN THE NAME OF ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY. BUT ESSENTIALLY, THE NUCLEAR "MONSTERS" REMAIN AS WELCOME AS THE PROVERBIAL SKUNK AT SECRET

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THE LAWN PARTY. THE FACT THAT AFTER MONTHS OF OUR IMPORTUNING AT ALL LEVELS. AT THIS VERY FRAGILE MOMENT IN ITALIAN POLITICAL HISTORY THE MINORITY GOVERNMENT SHOULD CHOOSE TO FURTHER LEGITIMATE THE PRESENCE OF THE POLECAT TELLS US SOMETHING. FOR ONE THING IT HELPS CONFIRM THE PARADOX THAT IN ITS WEAKNESS LIES MUCH OF THE STRENGTH OF THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT, THAT THE LACK OF A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE TO THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT HAS PLACED IT IN THE POSITION WHERE IT CAN IN FACT TAKE SOME DECISIONS THAT PREVIOUS AND MORE FIRMLY BASED DC-LED GOVERNMENTS WERE UNABLE OR UNWILL-INT TO RISK.IT INDICATES THAT THE GOI IS STILL (AND PERHAPS EVEN MORE) FIRMLY COMMITTED TO SUPPORTING THE ALLIANCE AND ITS PURPOSES AS REPRESENTED BY OUR ACTIVITES HERE. IT DEMONSTRATES THAT IN RECOGNITION OF THE EXTRAORDINARY IMPORTANCE OF THE ATTITUDE OF THE U.S. TOWARD IT (AND CONVERSELY TOWARD ITS INTERNAL ADVERSARIES), THE GOI WILL STILL BITE THE BULLET--AS LONG AS IT IS NOT TOO BIG TO SWALLOW.

9. ACTION REQUESTED: EMBASSY RECOMMENDS THAT THE LANGUAGE AS PROPOSED BY THE GOI BE ACCEPTED UNALTERED AND THAT THE DEPARTMENT PROCEED TO OBTAIN SUCH CLEAR-

ANCES (INCLUDING IF NECESSARY UNDER CIRCULAR 175) AS
MAY BE REQUIRED. AN EARLY RESPONSE WOULD BE APPRECIATED
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